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NOTE

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Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/...) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

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2426th MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 29 March 1983, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2426)

1. Adoption of the agenda.

2. Letter dated 22 March 1983 from the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15651).

The meeting was called to order at 11.20 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 22 March 1983 from the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15651)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken at previous meetings on this item [*2420th to 2425th meetings*], I invite the representative of Honduras to take a place at the Security Council table. I invite the representatives of Algeria, Argentina, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Grenada, Hungary, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Italy, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Panama, Peru, the Philippines, Spain, the Syrian Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ortez Colindres (Honduras) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Abada (Algeria), Mr. Muñiz (Argentina), Mr. Moseley (Barbados), Miss Dever (Belgium), Mr. Salazar Paredes (Bolivia), Mr. Bueno (Brazil), Mr. Tsvetkov (Bulgaria), Mr. Sanz de Santamaría (Colombia), Mr. Zumbado Jiménez (Costa Rica), Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Mouskhoutas (Cyprus), Mr. Suja (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Al-Alfi (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Knipping Victoria (Dominican Republic), Mr. Albornoz (Ecuador), Mr. Chávez-Mena (El Salvador), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. van Well (Federal Republic of Germany), Mr. Taylor (Grenada), Mr. Rácz (Hungary), Mr. Purushottam (India), Mr. Serajzadeh (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. La Rocca (Italy), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Maudave (Mauritius), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico), Mr. Narkhuu (Mongolia), Mr. Ozores Typaldos (Panama), Mr. Pastor de la Torre (Peru), Mr. Arcilla (Philippines), Mr. de Piniés (Spain), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Rupia (United Republic of Tanzania), Mrs. Coronel de Rodríguez (Venezuela), Mr. Hoang Bich Son (Viet Nam) and Mr. Silović (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have just received a letter from the representative of Ghana in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Gbeho (Ghana) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now resume consideration of the item on its agenda.

4. Mr. NGUAYILA MBELA KALANDA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): This is the first time I have spoken at an open meeting during this month of March 1983. You will allow me to follow tradition and to join my voice with all those who have preceded me here in congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month which is now drawing to an end. Your personal and professional qualities, combined with your English sense of humour, have allowed us to see your name inscribed as a diplomat of the first rank. You belong to a country with which my country maintains links of sincere friendship and co-operation. My delegation is therefore always prepared fully to support you in carrying out your duties. I should also like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to your predecessor Mr. Troyanovsky, representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, for the well-balanced and courteous manner in which he conducted our work last month.

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5. The delegation of Zaire learned of the exacerbation of the situation in Central America with bitterness. The discussion now taking place here pits two fraternal countries, Nicaragua and Honduras, against each other, and to them is added the United States, accused of attempting to destabilize Nicaragua through the material and military support that it is providing, according to Nicaragua, to those opposed to the Sandinist régime in power in that country, through the intermediary of Honduras.

6. As we have had occasion to recall in the past, the Republic of Zaire remains deeply committed to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, without which the world would not be what it is today. That is why, because of the clear will of the parties concerned to enter into a direct dialogue leading to peaceful settlement of their dispute, my delegation would on that basis like to suggest that in its wisdom the Council, rather than taking a decision on the substance of the question, which would run the risk of heightening the tension in the region even further, merely take note of the initiative of the parties and encourage them to co-operate in seeking a solution that will take due account not only of the principles of the Charter and all the principles of international law, but one that would also take account of the socio-political realities of the region. It is certainly not by an exchange of recrimination by both sides that the peoples in those countries will come to enjoy their right to peace or, still less, their happiness.

7. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

8. Mr. van WELL (Federal Republic of Germany): Allow me, Sir, to express my pleasure and appreciation at speaking in the Security Council while you are presiding over it.

9. My Government has asked to participate in this debate because we take a strong interest in developments in Central America, owing to our long-standing and intensive co-operation with the countries and peoples of the region. May I recall that the Federal Republic of Germany, together with all countries which cherish democracy, was deeply satisfied when in July 1979 the Somoza dictatorship over Nicaragua came finally to an end. Our commitment to a new start in Nicaragua was expressed by sending a Governmental delegation to Nicaragua in that same month in order to bring aid to overcome the most urgent needs. At the same time we offered our help in the reconstruction of the country. Exchanges on all official levels and by political and private organizations followed and were a testimony to the widespread support in my country for assistance to Nicaragua in establishing democratic institutions based on social and economic structures which would satisfy the aspirations of all people in the country. This policy of friendship and help for Nicaragua was an expression of the general policy of my Government to strengthen democracy, to alleviate the plight of people and to assist in creating stable regional structures which contribute to the preservation of peace.

10. I want to emphasize at the same time that Nicaragua's difficult path to freedom and democracy has not been without disappointment for friends and without tensions with its neighbours. There was much disquieting information about events inside the country that caused deep concern among its friends as to the preservation of human rights, political freedom and pluralistic democracy. As the foreign relations of countries are often affected by internal problems, it is not surprising that in this case as well such interaction has led to a controversial situation.

11. To make it perfectly clear, my Government is always on the side of those who are committed, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, to the principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, territorial integrity, the inviolability of frontiers and the independence and sovereignty of States. These principles have to be respected strictly, especially in a period of change such as that through which Central America is passing.

12. In the present period of conflict in the area, we wish that the high aspirations of the revolution against the Somoza dictatorship to establish a truly democratic society in Nicaragua will prevail and that Nicaragua will contribute to harmonious relations with all countries of the region. As soon as Nicaragua establishes credibility in a policy of good-neighbourliness, non-interference and respect for human rights and democratic institutions, tensions in the area will diminish. This is not a question that concerns only one neighbour, but is really a problem for the whole region. We therefore wish that Nicaragua would be ready to embark on a policy of reconciliation and of confidence-building and take up the offer to settle the controversial issues at a conference of all countries of the region. A relevant proposal has been made and should provide a first step towards defusing tensions. We would hope that the countries of Central America which have undergone so many difficult experiences in the past might find a way to a peaceful common future.

13. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Peru. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

14. Mr. PASTOR de la TORRE (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should first of all like to extend to you, Sir, my delegation's congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. We are confident that thanks to your skill and experience we will achieve fruitful results in the problem at present before the Council.

15. This is the second time within one year that this body has been convened at the request of the Government of Nicaragua to deal with a question which certainly exceeds its national scope and concerns the entire Central American region. We have heard statements by many

delegations expressing the views of their Governments. Also the parties directly concerned have set forth their respective positions and have levelled charges of mutual recrimination, with which we are all now familiar. Meanwhile the problem of political confrontation in Central America goes back many years and is now a perpetual crisis which is worsening day by day.

16. At this stage one must ask: is there a genuine desire to try to come up with a practical and viable solution of the situation? Has the problem gotten out of hand for the Governments which are confronting each other because there are forces and interests outside the region which are making it difficult to find a solution that will respond to the yearnings of the Central American peoples? Is it not possible that the approach to the Central American crisis that has been taken does not correspond to nor reveal the true dimensions or true nature of the problem?

17. The truth is that none of the replies taken in isolation would be a comprehensive approach to the whole problem, and perhaps a combination of the three would give the best picture of what is actually happening now in Central America.

18. There are interests of all kinds which have undermined the political will expressed here to reach a political settlement, and this applies to all the parties directly concerned. As was stated by the Contadora declaration,[1] an attempt has been made to put the crisis in Central America within the context of East-West confrontation, overlooking the profound economic and social problems which have been experienced by the peoples of the region over the centuries.

19. In the same way, in the consideration of the facts which have given rise to this crisis and in our understanding of the background and treatment of this question, approaches have been taken which distort reality and which continue to obstruct our search for a broad and lasting political settlement.

20. My delegation wishes to say that these comments point to one conclusion: neither the countries directly concerned, nor the Powers which say that they stand by one side or the other, nor those countries which in good faith have contributed towards the settlement of the dispute have set aside positions, interests and prejudices in order to enhance the goal to which the Organization is devoted, namely, the preservation of peace. We have heard so many recriminations, accusations, denunciations and assessments of blame regarding the internal and external problems of each country concerned that we wonder whether it is realized that not only does that just fan the flames, but that it will now be more difficult to control this conflagration and that the damage may be quite considerable, including for those who believe that they will derive advantages from the situation.

21. For that reason, now more than ever we must put an end to rhetoric and to unbridled aggressiveness. Whether we do or not will determine whether the Security Council continues to be considered confused and impotent and whether the whole security system will be questioned to the point of converting it into a structure that instead of preserving peace will decisively damage the meagre confidence that the small and medium-sized countries still have in the Organization.

22. My delegation deems it appropriate to draw the Council's attention to the yet unexplored possibilities offered by the Organization of American States for a joint examination of and an agreed solution to the differences among the Latin American countries.

23. It is time that we all, beginning with Honduras, Nicaragua and the other Central American countries that find themselves enmeshed in this crisis—which in essence is one of identity—as well as the great Powers, on which rests the tremendous responsibility for world peace, and the Latin American countries, which see with dismay how our intraregional problems are still being manipulated by outside forces, committed ourselves to peace in an act of faith, which would allow us to set aside seemingly priority political interests and devote ourselves to achieving a negotiated political solution to be reached between the parties directly interested, without foreign interference or pressure and with the sole purpose of maintaining or, as the case may be, restoring peace in the region, as well as respect for fundamental human, civil and political rights, which today have been curbed by the forces in conflict.

24. My delegation would now like to make a concrete proposal which, we believe, could be useful in achieving our stated purpose and which might well be considered a basis for the establishment of a dialogue. First, there must be a commitment to avoid, in talks to be agreed upon, any ideological and political polarization in the general consideration of all the problems confronting Central America. Secondly, consequently, all interests foreign to the subregion and alien to its overall problems should be excluded, as the focus should be on improving the well-being of its peoples through a genuine process of development in a climate of peace and democracy. Thirdly, there must be strict respect for and submission to the principles and norms of international law enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and other international instruments, and specifically bearing in mind the principles of non-intervention in the internal and external affairs of States, the right to self-determination of peoples, respect for treaties, the sovereign equality of States, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the inadmissibility of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. Fourthly, all acts of hostility which have been taking place in the confrontation zone between Honduras and Nicaragua must cease immediately, by decision of the Security Council, which decision could be implemented through the machinery established in Chapters VII and VIII of the Charter, Chapter VII referring to the competence of regional arrangements. Fifthly, at the same time the Council may wish to adopt provisional measures contributing concomitantly to such a cessation of hostilities and making possible an effective dialogue between all the parties concerned, which are, in the first place, the Republics of Honduras and Nicaragua,

and, in a second stage, the five Cental Ame ican nations. Sixthly, if appropriate, the Council may wish to decide, with prior consent of the parties, to send a commission to supervise the cessation of hostilities in the border region where there have been confrontations or territorial violation. Seventhly, there should be an agreement on immediate measures to curb the arms race and the growing militarization of the countries in the area, which in some cases have unquestionably compromised the presence of military forces and assistance from third countries.

25. My Government submits these proposals for the Council's consideration, in the conviction that they can provide a reasonable and acceptable basis for the parties directly concerned in this dispute. We hope that they will be properly interpreted and accepted in this process which must be urgently begun and which should lead to the restoration of harmony and friendship among the fraternal peoples of Central America.

26. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Argentina. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

27. Mr. MUÑIZ (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I thank you for granting our request to participate in the meetings of this body. I hope that the deliberations under your guidance will contribute to the achievement of a speedy solution of the problem now before the Council.

28. The President of Argentina, General Reynaldo Bignone, in his statement at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, expressed his deep concern over the critical situation prevailing in Central America, which is marked especially by political destabilization, violence and the constant threat of armed confrontation between sister nations.

29. This crisis is particularly distressing to the Argentine Republic, for it concerns countries of the region with which we maintain fraternal relations, relations that have become even closer as a result of the steadfast demonstrations of solidarity we received from them during the conflict in the South Atlantic.

30. On various occasions and in different forums my Government has offered to make a contribution to a settlement and has expressed its agreement with certain peace initiatives, in particular the Mexican-Venezuelan proposal and that of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela put forward on 9 January at Contadora Island, Panama. In the information bulletin issued on that occasion[1] profound concern was expressed over foreign intervention, be it direct or indirect, in disputes in Central America. It was noted that it was highly undesirable to view these disputes in the context of East-West confrontation, and it was agreed that there was a need to eliminate the external factors aggravating them. An urgent appeal was made to all the countries of Central America to reduce tensions and establish the bases for a permanent climate of peaceful coexistence and mutual respect among States through dialogue and negotiations. Furthermore, States were urged not to resort to the threat or use of force in their international relations, and they were all requested to refrain from any acts that might worsen the crisis and create the danger of a widespread conflict that could extend to the entire region.

31. My country cannot fail to repeat its support for this language, which constitutes, in our opinion, the basis for settling a conflict which, should it worsen, would have unpredictable consequences that would seriously affect the situation in Latin America and that could even have implications beyond our continent.

32. Both initiatives by countries in the region were expressly supported by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at its summit conference in New Delhi. Argentina, in the words of our President, stated there that

> "the profound causes of the crisis we are referring to lie in anachronistic political and socio-economic situations which eliminated justice as the guiding principle of community orgnization, in persistent violations of the principle of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, and in harmful effects of the dispute over world power".

33. The principle of non-intervention has its deepest roots in Latin America. the countries of this area were the first to suffer from the most varied forms of intervention, and they are still struggling to consolidate their genuine independence and to ensure their development in peace. It is an honour for me to recall here the fundamental role that was played by Argentine statesmen in the enshrinement in law of these principles, ever since Carlos Calvo formulated his doctrine based on the national sovereignty and equality of States. Roque Saenz **Peña**, a delegate at the First International American Conference, in 1889, stressed solidarity among our countries, "for it means inviolable respect for sovereignty and concord and friendship among all the States of the continent". Honorio **Pueyrredón**, at the Sixth International Conference of American States, in 1928, categorically and precisely said:

> "The sovereignty of States consists in absolute right, full internal autonomy and complete external independence. . . . If that right is not enshrined and practised in an absolute form, international legal harmony does not exist."

Carlos Saavedra Lamas, the Foreign Minister and Nobel Peace Prize winner, in his closing speech as President of the special Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, in 1936, stated that the principle that no State has the right to intervene directly or indirectly in the internal or external affairs of other States was a definite victory for international coexistence.

34. These principles, which constantly guide Argentine foreign policy and diplomatic practice, are enshrined in

the Charter of the United Nations, in particular in Article 2. The General Assembly subsequently has developed them in many resolutions. I shall just mention those concerning the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty,[2] the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,[3] and the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes,[4] adopted by consensus on 15 November 1982.

35. Last July we spoke in the fifteenth special session of the Committee of the Whole of the Economic Commission for Latin America during discussion of the request for assistance by the Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua in the face of the loss of human life and the material damage suffered as a result of floods. It will be recalled that the tragedy was also shared by Honduras. My delegation on that occasion called for Latin American union and solidarity and a resolution concerning assistance to both countries[5] was adopted unanimously.

36. My Government is convinced that on the basis of this spirit of solidarity and with strict respect by all countries for the principles I previously referred to it will be possible to promote confidence in a speedy solution of the situation before us.

37. The Argentine Republic, bearing in mind the willingness to hold a dialogue that has been expressed in this chamber, wishes to recall the appeal contained in the Political Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries [*see S/15675, annex*] for the adoption of a constructive policy in favour of peace and dialogue in accordance with the principles of international law.

38. In this sense, my delegation wishes to join those countries which, throughout this debate, have unequivocally advocated the search for a just and lasting solution to the present crisis. We are convinced that this solution can only be achieved by an effective dialogue in good faith based on the principles of the Charter, on the peaceful settlement of disputes, on respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and on the non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.

39. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Mongolia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

40. Mr. NARKHUU (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Sir, the Mongolian delegation would like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. We should like to wish you every success in carrying out your important duties. I should like to express the thanks of the Mongolian delegation to you, Sir, and to all members of the Council for the opportunity I have been given to speak on the question which is the subject of today's discussions.

41. Nicaragua has once again become a target of naked acts of aggression and intervention. From the neighbouring territory of Honduras the remnants of the Somozist mercenaries, specially trained by the United States, have been unleashed against the Nicaraguan revolution. This is convincingly borne out by the statement made by the Nicaraguan Deputy Minister for External Relations a few days ago here in the Council [*2420th meeting*]. The facts adduced in that statement cannot fail to arouse serious concern on the part of the world community. This new invasion of Nicaragua was not an isolated act carried out by armed gangs of Somozists: no, it was an act of aggression planned and conceived in advance, whose purpose was to destabilize the situation in Nicaragua. Here, one thing is very clear: behind the Somozists still at large, the interventionists and the entire series of hostile acts of aggression against the Republic of Nicaragua is the United States. The progressive changes taking place in Nicaragua since the victory of the Sandinist revolution are not something that the imperialists and forces of reaction like. Therefore, in order to bring to a halt the democratic revolutionary process in that country and to return it to lawlessness, deprivation and foreign domination, American imperialism has been using every trick in the book. The arsenal of imperialism is very extensive, indeed, including blackmail, threats, political and economic pressure, diversion, naked acts of aggression and intervention.

42. I should point out that the current imperialist acts of aggression are not only directed against Nicaragua and its people, but also constitute part of broader strategic plans on the part of Washington in Central America and the Caribbean, which the United States, as is its wont, has included in its sphere of "vital interests".

43. Of course, the aggressive designs against Nicaragua and other countries of Central America dangerously exacerbate the situation and jeopardize peace and security in that region, as well as in the entire world.

44. The events that have been taking place in Central America recently because of United States policy were the subject of special consideration in January of this year at the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries in Managua. At the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March, the participants denounced the acts of aggression carried out by imperialism against Nicaragua, the utilization of the territory of other countries as springboards for aggression and as training grounds for counter-revolutionary forces and the perpetration of acts of terrorism and sabotage.

45. The Mongolian delegation is pleased to see the constructive position of the Government and people of Nicaragua. The peaceful initiatives of Nicaragua for instituting a direct dialogue between the parties involved

in order to find a settlement for regional problems are praiseworthy and deserve our support.

46. The Mongolian People's Republic has always stood, and will continue to stand, on the side of the just cause of the people and Government of Nicaragua. The Government and people of our country warmly hailed the victory of the Sandinist people's revolution as a turning-point in the history of the Nicaraguan people. Despite the geographical distance between our countries, we have been developing relations of friendship and co-operation. Contacts are broadening in the political, economic and cultural spheres. Evidence of this can be seen in the recent visit to our country of the party and Government delegation of the Republic of Nicaragua, headed by the Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction, Daniel Ortega Saavedra. During that visit, important documents were signed concerning further development of bilateral relations.

47. In the joint Mongolian-Nicaraguan communiqué issued on 24 March, the Mongolian side expressed international solidarity with the struggle of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and the Nicaraguan people to protect the independence and revolutionary gains of their country from the encroachments of American imperialism and its accomplices and internal reaction.

48. Regarding the situation around Nicaragua and the position of principle of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, the President of our country, Y. Tsedenbal, recently stated:

> "The revolutionary measures taken by the Nicaraguan people are, as we know, being carried out against a background of continuing subversive acts by the external forces of reaction and the internal forces of counter-revolution.
>
> ". . .
>
> "The hostile acts of the United States against Nicaragua and other States of the region recently reached a new height of intensity and have become increasingly unrestrained . . .
>
> "The Mongolian People's Republic, together with other peace-loving forces of the world, demands that the United States put an end to its hostile acts against Nicaragua." [*See S/15654, annex I.*]

49. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the German Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

50. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): At the outset, Sir, permit me to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March and to wish you success in the exercise of your responsible office. At the same time, I should like to express high appreciation for the successful work performed by the President for February, the representative of the USSR, Mr. Oleg Aleksandrovich Troyanovsky.

51. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic would like to thank the Council members for giving us the opportunity to be able to explain our Government's point of view on the important issue that is now on the agenda.

52. The Council must again deal with aggression launched against Nicaragua. The Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua, Mr. Tinoco, explained in a very convincing manner the full extent of the new aggression launched against his country. He revealed its background and pointed to the serious threat to international peace and security that has arisen. We fully comprehend the seriousness of the situation. The demands put forth by Nicaragua meet with our undivided support.

53. The facts prove that a large number of Somozist mercenaries, equipped and financed by the United States, invaded Nicaragua. They have brought death and terror to that country. Such action constitutes a further dangerous escalation of counter-revolutionary acts against Nicaragua and is designed to destabilize the situation in that country. Indeed, a serious danger to international peace and security has thus developed. The request to convene the Security Council in compliance with the Charter of the United Nations was fully justified.

54. The continued attempts systematically to destabilize Sandinist Nicaragua are being made against the background of wide-ranging imperialist doctrines—Washington's regional and global strategies—as they were again proclaimed recently by leading representatives of that country. This policy of confrontation and super-armament is designed to trample underfoot the independence of States and to interfere in their internal afairs. That is true of South Africa, where the *apartheid* régime, as an accomplice of the United States, perpetrates persistent acts of aggression against soverign African neighbouring States. It is true of the Middle East, where the aggressor Israel, as a strategic ally of the United States, tramples upon the vital interests of the Arab peoples. In Latin America paid mercenaries now do the work for the imperialist and reactionary forces. An attempt is being made to deny the people of Nicaragua the right independently to decide upon its political, economic and social development.

55. The director of the Research Institute on International Change at New York's Columbia University, an expert on United States policy on Latin America, Seweryn Bialer, has in an article published in *The New York Times* on 6 March characterized the means applied by the United States Administration to achieve its aggressive aims in Latin America. Among them, one important means is the attempt

> "to destabilize the Nicaraguan Government through political, economic and military means. The most important part of this policy is the covert support for anti-Sandinist forces across the border in Honduras—

military units trained and armed with Washington's help that attack Nicaraguan military and civilian targets almost daily. It is also possible that the Honduran army or mercenary troops may be used in the near future to intrude into Nicaraguan territory."

56. Such a scenario for the realization of those machinations can clearly be seen in the events of the last few months. Various emissaries were sent off to Latin America, who upon their return reported to the White House about the alleged great dangers for the United States that would arise out of progressive development in Latin America countries. An orchestrated campaign of smear and slander against Nicaragua and other States of the region was launched. A drastic increase in finances for growing interference in that region has been asked for. At the same time, mercenaries have been trained in wide-range military manoeuvres at the Nicaraguan border and prepared for the invasion of Nicaragua. The aggression has now been launched. That policy is a direct consequence of the arrogation of the right to regard the entire Caribbean-Central American region as the backyard of the United States, as its fourth border. That policy is directed against any progressive development in the area, and it endangers world peace and the security of all peoples.

57. The German Democratic Republic strongly condemns the invasion of Nicaragua and is convinced that this new plot against the independence and right to self-determination of Nicaragua will be foiled. It proceeds from the fact that today there are no global or regional problems that cannot be settled on a just basis through political means. Its attitude fully concurs with that of the majority of the States Members of the United Nations. It supports the proposals made by various States of Latin America and by the States of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at their meetings in Managua and New Delhi to transform Central America and the Caribbean into a zone of peace and stability.

58. The German Democratic Republic would like to express its appreciation of the efforts undertaken by the Government of Nicaragua aimed at a policy of good-neighbourliness in the region and the settlement of disputes with the United States through negotiations. Such an approach complies with the legitimate interests of all the peoples of the region.

59. In compliance with the Political Declaration of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty [*S/15556, annex*], adopted at Prague on 5 January 1983, and the decisions taken by the Non-Aligned Movement, the German Democratic Republic demands that the policy of threat, provocation and interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua and other States of the region be stopped and that the road of development chosen by the people of Nicaragua be respected in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

60. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Italy. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

61. Mr. LA ROCCA (Italy): As your term as President of the Security Council is drawing to a close, Sir, let me add to my best wishes for your success my sincere congratulations on the skill and determination you have abundantly displayed in the discharge of your responsibilities during the challenging month of March.

62. The issues concerning Nicaragua underscore how the nations of Central America are experiencing a period of growing tensions and conflicts that have aroused the attention and apprehension of the international community.

63. Because of the strong bonds of friendship and co-operation existing between Italy and those nations, we are particularly sensitive to their aspirations and sufferings. Therefore we are directly concerned to see the return to the region of peaceful conditions, which are necessary prerequisites for the continuation of their democratic development and social and economic progress.

64. By democratic development we do not mean an abstract concept isolated from the many real problems that affect those friendly nations. We are indeed convinced that democratic development cannot be limited to the sphere of freedom and human rights but should also be aimed at achieving, on the one hand, an actual pluralistic system and, on the other, progress and justice through the elimination of social and economic inequalities and the creation of more balanced and harmonious national communities bound together by the quest for common goals.

65. The efforts that the peoples of Central America are ready to make in this direction require that the violence that has already covered the area with blood come to an end and that negotiations for the restoration of peace and security for all start without delay among all interested capitals. In Central America violence must give way to law. The violation of basic principles and rules of peaceful international coexistence expressed in the Charter of the United Nations must stop.

66. From a legal point of view there is no room for ambiguities or uncertainties. All Members of the United Nations must strictly comply with the principles of the Charter for the achievement of the purposes of the Organization as set out in Article 1. Among those purposes, in our view, the following deserve to be recalled in the present debate: the adjustment or settlement, in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, of disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace; the development of friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of the equal rights and self-determination of all peoples; and enhancement of international co-operation in promoting and encouraging increasing respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

67. Among the principles to which, in conformity with the Charter, the behaviour of States shall conform, the following deserve particular emphasis: the duty of all States to refrain, in their international relations, from the

threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State; the obligation to settle their international disputes by peaceful means; and the obligation to refrain from any interference—in our view, both military and ideological—in the internal affairs of other States. In this context, it is also important to recall that among the means for the peaceful settlement of disputes the Charter clearly refers to the mechanisms provided by the regional systems of which the interested countries are members.

68. In strict adherence to the Charter, Italy wishes to recall these basic principles in the present debate and to express its belief that an agreement among all interested countries, based on such principles and rules of behaviour, could be best reached in a regional framework.

69. Proposals to this effect have already been mentioned during this debate. They were welcomed by the Italian Government because we think that they offer a real basis for an understanding, whatever differences may separate the countries of Central America today. It is clear indeed that those countries are confronted with common problems which demand common solutions. Only through a direct and open dialogue will they become increasingly aware of their common interests and lay the ground for an agreement which would open up the prospect of a better future for their peoples.

70. In this respect my delegation would like to mention and encourage the efforts that some countries of Central America are carrying out in order to gather all the countries of that region around the same negotiating table in a dialogue which could be the first step towards a global solution of the problems of the area.

71. Central America has the right and the duty to find within itself an outcome to the present crisis. It should not be affected by reflections of tensions existing elsewhere in the field of international relations; at the same time the countries of the area should refrain from acts which could involve them in contrasts alien to the region itself.

72. The roots of this crisis are both old and new and have developed into an overall picture which cannot be oversimplified. Nevertheless, even if there are enormous difficulties, there are no other choices than to operate in the only direction which, in our view, could lead to positive results, that is, towards a solution based on reciprocal understanding and tolerance by which all nations of the area would be seriously committed to a process of internal reconciliation and to strict respect for the independence, sovereignty and integrity of neighbour countries.

73. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Syrian Arab Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

74. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation would like at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. We have no doubt that your intimate knowledge of international affairs and your wide diplomatic experience will help the Council to adopt the necessary measures to avert the aggression threatening Nicaragua, aggression that has been constantly expanding and taking on a variety of forms. On this occasion I should like to express our appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Troyanovsky, for the excellent and objective manner in which he conducted the work of the Council last month.

75. On 31 March of last year my delegation spoke on this same issue [*2343rd meeting*] to express its full solidarity with revolutionary Nicaragua, a country that is constantly threatened by American imperialism. Imperialism can prosper and gain strength only by undermining the revolution, because revolution is progress, it is liberty, it is the exercise of power by the people and liberation of the toiling masses, whereas imperialism is full-scale war and continuous violence against progress; it is resistance to substitution of the obsolete political and economic structures of the past imposed by imperialism, not only on Nicaragua, but on a large number of States, in order to exploit the peoples in all areas and to rob them of the fruits of their labour and their natural wealth, as well as to exercise all forms of exploitation. It is no surprise that today, a year after its first complaint, Nicaragua is again raising its voice in the Council to warn that the forces of imperialism are committing wider and more dangerous aggression against Nicaragua, both directly and indirectly, recruiting Somoza's henchmen to escalate its conspiracy. The threat to Nicaragua is still continuing and indeed is increasing day by day, taking forms that entail the gravest risks for Central America that are bound to spread and to jeopardize international peace and security.

76. Mr. Tinoco, the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua, alerted us to the fact that a new aggression by the American Administration has this time assumed the form of a large-scale infiltration by military and tactical units—to be more precise, infiltration by counter-revolutionary Somozist elements operating from the territory of a neighbouring State. Official American statements and the broad coverage by the American mass media confirm that the American Administration is doing its utmost to destroy the revolution of Nicaragua by various means. We consider such acts to be not only a breach of the Charter and of international law; they are also a new indication that United States policy is by its very nature inimical to the aspirations of peoples to live in peace in accordance with the will of the toiling masses.

77. The United States has not only trained, financed and provided arms and logistical support to the counter-revolutionary elements, but has also provided them with a refuge in its territory and a base from which to launch military aggression against Nicaragua in order to turn back the clock. There must be a new Somoza waiting in the wings to return to Managua under the auspices of Washington to impose his dictatorship over the heroic people of Nicaragua, but such an attempt is doomed to failure. When one reads yesterday's or today's news-

papers, especially *The New York Times*, one knows that every word uttered in the Council by the United States representative has been but an attempt at obfuscation and to divert attention from Washington's aggressive schemes against Nicaragua.

78. It is an irony that the differences between the United States Congress and the Administration focus on whether the constitutional aspects justifying aggression have been complied with or not, and those differences are not concerned with terminating the aggression—aggression committed with American aid and planning, through counter-revolutionary elements.

79. Saul Landau wrote an article in yesterday's *The New York Times*, entitled "War on Nicaragua"—and here I must say that I did not understand whether he was writing in fun or in earnest, but even in irony one can discern the truth. I shall quote from that article.

> "War on Nicaragua:
>
> "Congress should declare war on the Government of Nicaragua and thereby preserve the Constitution.
>
> "The United States Government is waging war against Nicaragua and has been for more than a year, but Congress has not declared war. The Constitution gives this power to Congress, but someone else has usurped it—and, by calling the war intelligence activity, they've gotten away with it. The 'someone' is the Central Intelligence Agency, commanded by President Reagan. Here is how the usurpation took place."•

He continues the article by saying, after quoting William Casey, who is known to you and who was mentioned several times in this meeting,

> "Congress is now informed, Mr. Casey told the gathering, referring to the Hughes-Ryan Amendment, which the C.I.A. has interpreted to mean that Congress is 'informed' as soon as the intelligence committees are told about violent covert actions. Each intelligence committee member, however, is oath-bound not to reveal a word of what he knows, even to other House and Senate members."•

The author concludes his article by encouraging Congress to declare war, saying:

> "The warmaking power is the most important power Congress has. It is still not too late to call for a declaration of war. If a majority of members decide that Nicaragua has not provided *causus belli*, they will vote against declaring war. Perhaps then and only then will they exert their constitutional power and stop the covert war."•

Are we to take this information seriously or are we to laugh at it? I do not know.

80. In another article published in the same newspaper yesterday, an article written by Stephen Kinzer which has already been mentioned here by a previous speaker [*2424th meeting, para. 44*], it is made clear that Nicaragua's complaint, submitted precisely and faithfully by Mr. Tinoco, is based on facts which the United States authorities are proud to recount in American newspapers as though they were acts of heroism, whereas in our view and according to law and ethics they are but acts of aggression committed by various means—which confirms Mr. Tinoco's assertions. Mr. Tinoco stated:

> "The United States Government, which nurtured and nursed this dictatorship and which benefited from the way in which it sold its country down the river for the sake of its own economic enrichment, is today behind the new acts of aggression and behind the suffering that the Nicaraguan people is once more undergoing. Those Somozist groups exist only to the extent that they are financed, trained and directed by institutions of the United States Government, which turns them into a tool for its own policy in the region." [*2420 meeting, para. 21.*]

81. We listened with a great deal of attention to the statement of the United States representative, and we are sure that it was designed to stress three points. First, the United States is persisting in its present policy to destroy the Sandinist revolution by the use of force. Secondly, the United States will continue to intervene in the internal affairs of Nicaragua in order to establish a so-called—and I insist on the term "so-called"—"democratic" régime. We all know the concept of democracy envisaged by the United States. Does not the United States consider Israel, its first ally, a democratic entity, while Israel "democratically" commits one act of aggression after another, kills the Arabs, displaces them, desecrates their Holy Places and even poisons their schoolchildren? I believe that the representative of the United States reads *The New York Times* and she must have read it yesterday and today. Poisonous gases are used on Arab schools in the West Bank. Such is the Israeli democracy, which matures in the service of United States interests in the area. What is the use of murdering and poisoning our schoolchildren? Do you call that democracy? This is the same democracy that you want to establish in Central America. This is the democracy of death, of devastation and crime.

82. Thirdly, the United States exploits the weakness of some States neighbouring Nicaragua in order to consolidate the interests of American imperialism in the region, foremost among which is the restoration of the Somozist régime to rob the masses of their achievements, principally their liberation from American hegemony and influence.

83. The Syrian Arab Republic, at the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries held at Managua in January, declared its full solidarity with Nicaragua's revolution and condemned imperialist intervention in the countries of Latin America, foremost among which is Nicaragua.

• Quoted in English by the speaker.

We must recall that the United States has been encouraging its lackey, Israel, to intervene on its behalf to suppress any progressive movement that is in the interest of the people and that does not want to serve the interests of monopolistic American corporations. Nobody at the Managua Meeting lost sight of the fact that Israel is a reliable ally of the United States and, through its arms sales to some countries in Latin America, is helping it to strengthen its hegemony on that sensitive region of the world, Central America.

84. On this occasion, we should like to recall a statement reported by United Press International on 17 August 1981 quoting Ya'akov Meridor, the Israeli Economic Affairs Minister

> "We are going to say to them—the Americans—'Don't compete with us in Taiwan; don't compete with us in South Africa; don't compete with us in the Caribbean or in other countries where you couldn't directly do it. Let us do it', he said. I even used the expression, 'you sell the ammunition and equipment by proxy. Israel will be your proxy', and this would be worked out with a certain agreement with the United States where we will have certain markets which will be left for us."*

85. On 14 December 1982 *The Christian Science Monitor* published an article by Susan Morgan, which included the following:

> "Israel has co-operated militarily with Honduras since 1977. Its sale of French-built Super-Mystère bomber jets to Honduras made the Honduran air force the region's strongest.
>
> "The unannounced visit and military accord underline Israel's growing role as US arms broker and proxy in crisis-ridden Central America. Some six weeks ago, Israeli Foreign Minister Itzak Shamir visited Costa Rica, offering to help with internal security.
>
> "Honduras is to send a top-level mission, headed by General Alvarez, to Israel in the near future, according to the source interviewed."*

86. In a fraternal, amicable spirit, I ask the representative of Honduras if this information is true. Why should Honduras, a democratic State—as we are told—use Israeli arms to strengthen itself? These Israeli armaments sales nourish Israel's economy with considerable funds. Israel is the lackey of the United States and wreaks havoc on relations in Central America, a fact which is known to many, especially to some Latin American countries that opted to buy weapons from Israel, inspired by the United States, which considers the American arms industry as support for the collapsing economy of Israel.

87. The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic warns the United States of the consequences of aggravating the situation in Central America and calls for an end to acts of aggression directly or indirectly undertaken by the United States to destabilize the States of the region, foremost among which is Nicaragua. We are certain that Nicaragua's revolution, which stemmed from the genuine national interests of the people of Nicaragua and which represents the aspirations of that people, will not be defeated, regardless of the arrogance of the United States and its friends, including Israel and world zionism.

88. In this regard the Non-Aligned Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting in Managua was fully aware of the risks posed by Zionist influence in Latin America. In its final communiqué [*S/15628, annex*] that Meeting urged the Latin American countries maintaining relations of co-operation with Israel to put an end to that co-operation and to Israeli infiltration, with a view to eliminating it altogether The Ministers were also aware of the use made of Israel by the United States in its interventionist practices in Latin America. In this connection they denounced the visits of Israeli officials to certain countries in Latin America which led, *inter alia*, to the conclusion of military agreements and enhancement of intervention by the United States and Israel in the affairs of the region, aggravating tension and making the situation even more volatile. The Ministers condemned the alliance between the Zionist and Somoza régimes.

89. Finally, the delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic supports the statement by the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua here in the Council that Nicaragua wishes to hold a dialogue on the problem of Central America and is ready immediately to discuss the problems and differences that have arisen as a result of the military operations in the border region between Nicaragua and Honduras, reiterating its positive position on any negotiated settlement for the Central American crisis. We believe that that is a realistic and legitimate approach likely to put an end to the fire raging in that area.

90. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Bulgaria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

91. Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, I should like to thank the Council for having given me the opportunity to present my Government's position on this question in this forum. I should also like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of this post of heavy responsibility for the month of March and express our conviction that, under your competent guidance, the Council will be able successfully to carry out its responsibilities in this complicated situation. I wish also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, the representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Troyanovsky, who made a broad contribution to the effectiveness of the Council's work last month, for which we express our gratitude to him.

92. Reports on the latest developments in Central America are clear proof of the gravity of the political and social crisis in that part of the world, provoked by attempts on the part of reactionary and imperialist forces to impede the process of progressive and democratic

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

transformations. The situation is taking an especially alarming turn because the conflicts being stirred up in the region are such as might give rise to a chain reaction fraught with serious consequences for peace and security both in the region itself and beyond its geographical limits.

93. At the centre of the Council's attention today is Nicaragua's complaint concerning the flagrant violation of its sovereignty. That complaint is substantiated, as clearly as it is convincingly, in the specific and detailed information provided the Council by the Nicaraguan Deputy Minister for External Relations, Mr. Tinoco, and in the statements made by the overwhelming majority of the delegations that have already spoken.

94. As we know, almost four years ago the Nicaraguan people overthrew the rotten dictatorship of Somoza and launched a democratic revolution. Under the leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, that people devoted itself to peaceful and creative work for the development of the national economy, to resolve important tasks in the cultural and social fields and to establish a democratic and legal order that has restored the fundamental rights and freedoms stifled by the Somozist dictatorship. Nicaragua's prestige was reinforced within the international community thanks to its independent and sovereign policy and its faithful and consistent attachment to the principles of non-alignment.

95. However, the choice by the Nicaraguan people of such a policy, both at the foreign and domestic levels, proved to be frustrating to the achievement of the imperialist plans of the United States in that part of the world. Attempts to crush the Nicaraguan revolution began at its very beginning. At the present time, those attempts have reached their height. Nicaragua's territory has been invaded by a large and heavily armed gang. Several details presented during this debate clearly indicate the style of hegemonistic strategy whose infamous symbol is the undercover landing in the Bay of Pigs, in Cuba, in 1961. Today the Republic of Nicaragua is the target of an armed attack, organized by American imperialism, which cannot accept the fact that the Nicaraguan people have rejected domination by imperialist monopolies and their puppets.

96. Who are these men and what are their goals? World mass media, including those of the United States, and analyses by informed circles and bodies leave no doubt on that score. These are former Somoza national guardsmen, the executioners of his apparatus of repression, hirelings devoted to his despotic régime, tradition adventurers trained, paid and sent by the Central Intelligence Agency. They all make no effort to hide their intentions of restoring the tyrannical system by fire and blood. They do not even take the trouble to hide behind the demagogic phraseology of "freedom" and "democracy". Judging from a report in *Newsweek* magazine of 8 November 1982, the killers, while waiting for the signal to attack, openly made the threat that there would be a blood-bath, that there were several counts to be settled, that the whole way from the border to Managua would be strewn with corpses.

97. The aggressive attack on Nicaragua did not surprise anybody. For several months the world had witnessed feverish preparations for the invasion of that small Central American State. Mention has often been made of criminal raids across the border with Honduras, of diversions, of acts of sabotage, of crash training-courses for mercenaries by foreign "advisors" and "instructors" in foreign territory. Many facts concerning the subversive plans hatched by the special services of the United States have come to light. In this respect there are very explicit official statements that prove beyond all shadow of a doubt the hostile position of Washington *vis-à-vis* Nicaragua.

98. The world could not remain indifferent to these dangerous operations. At the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries at Managua in January and at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at New Delhi earlier this month, the Governments of more than 100 countries unanimously denounced the slanderous campaign and the acts of hostility with regard to Nicaragua. The final documents of these representative international forums draw explicit attention to the systematic armed attacks against that country and describe them, quite correctly, as part of a carefully-thought-out plan to destabilize and overthrow people's power in Nicaragua.

99. Judging by the present debate and the reactions of the international community, the aggression against Nicaragua is described as part of the overall strategy of American imperialism, aimed at confrontation and tension in international relations, which will result in the intensification of the threat of war.

100. The People's Republic of Bulgaria shares the deep concern expressed in this forum by several representatives, first and foremost by those of certain countries of this hemisphere, *vis-à-vis* the armed intervention against independent and democratic Nicaragua. My Government firmly condemns these acts of aggression, which are incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations, with the most elementary norms of international law and with the interests of peace and security in this region and in the whole world and believes that open and direct dialogue between the two countries, as proposed by the representative of Nicaragua, constitutes a reasonable path towards solution of the conflict by peaceful means. The Bulgarian people expresses its sincere sympathy and total solidarity with the Nicaraguan people. At the same time, my country appeals for the immediate cessation of the intervention, for the halting of all interference in the domestic affairs of Nicaragua and for respect for the right of that country to go forward along the path of democracy and social progress, a path which its people has chosen in sovereignty.

101. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Cyprus. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

102. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): Allow me at the outset, Sir, to congratulate you warmly on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council during the month of March and on the exemplary manner in which you are conducting the work of the Council. Allow me also to express sincere appreciation to Mr. Troyanovsky of the Soviet Union, who presided over the Council's deliberations last month with his usual competence and effectiveness.

103. The Government of the Republic of Cyprus is deeply disturbed by the latest reports concerning the infiltration of some 2,000 heavily armed men into Nicaraguan territory and the armed aggression carried out by those armed groups against the people and the Government of Nicaragua.

104. The critical developments in Nicaragua and in the Central American region in general cannot but deeply disturb the international community. For what is happening in that particular area of the world is not only a reflection of adverse developments on the international scene but also a further sign of the failure on the part of the Organization to fulfil its paramount purpose—that of maintaining international peace and security. This failure, we believe, is due to the lack of an effective system of international security as a result of non-compliance with the mandatory Article 43 of the Charter.

105. We believe that bilaterial or international problems must be solved peacefully by negotiations, not by the force of arms. Moreover, respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of a country by all States, coupled with the principle of non-involvement in the internal affairs of others, must be at the core of international relations.

106. Only this month, at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, the members of the Movement, when referring to Nicaragua, denounced "the commission of terrorist actions and sabotage, particularly the attacks of armed groups of ex-Somoza guards through its northern border" [*see S/15675, annex, sect. I, para. 135*].

107. A few months ago, at the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries at Managua, the Non-Aligned Countries "specifically denounced the systematic attacks being carried out against Nicaragua from across its northern border by armed bands of former members of the Somoza National Guard" [*see S/15628, annex, para. 37*]. Moreover, the Ministers

> "appealed to all States in Central America to resolve their problems themselves, free from all external interference, and help generate a situation of peace and tranquillity which will lead to political stability and economic development in the region and thus contribute to the cause of international peace and security" [*ibid., para. 46*].

108. In the same spirit, the summit conference in New Delhi expressed the view that "the cessation of military manoeuvres or demonstrations of force will reduce tension and facilitate the necessary dialogue for the achievement of political and negotiated solutions of the problems of the region" [*see S/15675, annex, sect. I, para. 139*].

109. We regret that, despite such calls, we are seeing a worsening of the situation, particularly in Nicaragua. Being victims of aggression and continuing occupation of a large part of our territory ourselves, we cannot but strongly condemn the resort to violence and intervention, such as is taking plce against Nicaragua, as well as acts of intervention and destabilization in the whole Central American region and anywhere in the world. The Government of the Republic of Cyprus, committed to the peaceful solution of disputes through negotiation, cannot but oppose any form of aggression, against any country.

110. We believe that peace must be sought, maintained and strengthened through dialogue and that, notwithstanding ideological or other differences which may exist between States, the right of any State freely to choose its own political, social and economic system, without outside interference or intervention, must be fully respected.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See A/38/68, annex.

[2] General Assembly resolution 2131 (XX).

[3] General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), annex.

[4] General Assembly resolution 37/10, annex.

[5] Resolution 447 (PLEN.15) of the Committee of the Whole of the Economic Commission for Latin America.

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